REMARKS

ON

Dr. PRICE's OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NATURE

OF

CIVIL LIBERTY, &c.

Quære peregrinum Vicinia rauca reclamat.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

FREDERICK LORD NORTH,

THESE REMARKS

ARE

RESPECTFULLY INCRIBED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

BRITISH MUSEUM

REMARKS

ON THE

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE author of the Obſervations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, &c, &c. endeavours to evince, that we have no pretenſion to the government of our own colonies in America. Strange doctrine! to inculcate by a fallacy of argument, what his judgment (of which he appears not to be deficient) muſt, *in foro conſcientiæ* condemn—But however the world may diſapprove his obſervations, he is happy in thinking that they are not only "important" but "juſt;" ſo that he precondemns any opinion varying from his own.

In polemical ſentiments, of every nature, the paſſions of mankind lead to an arrangement on

one ſide or the other—Excluding intereſt, or illuſion, our opinion will naturally tend to what is equitable.

It is not my deſign to follow the author, paragraph by paragraph ; but to elucidate, to the extent of my ability, not only how extremely erroneous, but of what pernicious tendency his obſervations are.

His firſt endeavour is, to define the nature of liberty in general—phyſical, moral, religious, and civil. As the latter only is the point in queſtion, and as he is not deſirous to prove that the Americans are deprived of the three firſt, which he might do with an equal degree of probability, we ſhall confine our remarks ſolely to the latter.

The bulk of the people in America, little initiated into the cabinet of their leaders, full of imaginary ideas of promiſed liberty—yet were the veil that blinds them but once cleared from the cloud that obſcures their better judgments, they would, ſenſible of their paſt infatuation, ſoon cloſe the ſanguinary ſcene of deſtructive rebellion.

Let

Let us allow that all " civil free government originated from the people; that they are the ſource and the end."—Put it to the proof—Give the helm into the hands of ſo many unſkilful pilots—The veſſel would deviate from its courſe, and ſoon be a-ground. Government certainly ſprung from neceſſity—General convenience was its object—and will ſtill be its ſupporter. " Civil " liberty (when I mention the word Liberty, I " mean regulated freedom, not an anarchy of " acting agreeably to paſſion) can, according " to Mr. P. be only enjoyed in its greateſt de- " gree in ſmall ſtates, where every member is " capable of giving his ſuffrage in perſon, and " being choſen into public offices." Let a community be ever ſo ſmall, it muſt conſiſt of different ranks of men; what riot and diſorder muſt be the natural reſult, when the important offices in that ſtate may be occupied by the meaneſt, uninſtructed individuals. What corruption, and ſometimes what a ſcene of blood aroſe in the *Campus Martius* at Rome, when the candidates appeared, and the whole collective body of the people were the voters! Merit was ſure to be neglected, while vice, by its popular, dangerous donations, received the plaudit and concurrence of the people.

It is univerſally acknowledged, that where the nation is repreſented by its own free choice, the determination of the majority of thoſe repreſentatives is the *vox populi*. Mr. P. proceeds to give us an idea of a government, the child of his own fancy, the very exiſtence of which is inconſiſtent with human nature. With reſpect to the houſe of commons, have they not been celebrated for the jealouſy of their rights, the equity of their laws, and the juſtneſs of their deciſions?

" As the people have more or leſs ſhare in go-
" vernment, and of a controuling power over
" the perſons by whom it is adminiſtred—ſo it
" is complete, &c." Yet Mr. P. complains that theſe very people, that he thinks requiſite to have ſo much power, are corrupted; and their repreſentatives, corruptors. If we were to deal in fiction, let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that the heart of every man was open to each inſpector, that no paſſion of fear, intereſt, &c. &c. could enter, but was immediately viſible—what magiſtrates, what legiſlators could we not chuſe—yet they would not be free from cenſure.

In one place Mr. P. thinks that the ſuffrages of a turbulent meeting of the people is the only true

true ſtate of civil liberty. In another he complains, that the majority of the houſe are elected by a handful of the meaneſt of the people; at one period he is anxious that the loweſt of the people ſhould poſſeſs the moſt important offices; in the next, he accuſes them of being biaſſed by bribery in their choice. Surely if they are capable of undertaking an office of any conſequence, they may be allowed able to chuſe a repreſentative. Thus he paſſes ſentence both on the people, and their members. "To be free is to "be guided by one's own will." Certainly; but when, for a variety of reaſons, we give up a ſmall portion to enſure the reſt, can this be ſtiled a ſervitude? No; it is by our own frank gift; and without it, adieu to all the advantages of ſociety. Mr. P. allows that the form of our conſtitution is excellent—then why raiſe fancied evils that have no exiſtence? What ſhould degrade it? Every Briton muſt be proud of it! Do we not hourly feel its glorious effects?

"Government, ſays Mr. P. is an inſtitution "for the benefit of the people governed, which "they have power to model as they pleaſe.—" If this was fact, what anarchy and innovation muſt not be its conſequence, if from every whim

whim of a frantic multitude, the fabric muſt be ſubverted !—Government is clearly, as before remarked, derived from neceſſity, and the ſame cauſe will maintain it. It is popular to ſay, it originated from the people.

Few are the inſtances of licentiouſneſs in the higher orders of a ſtate; their knowledge and experience will dictate to them its pernicious conſequences. The vulgar think that their liberty is infringed, if they receive the leaſt curb of legal reſtriction: unreſtrained by morality, a lawleſs conduct, unchecked, is the only idea they poſſeſs of liberty. Deſpotiſm is indeed a branch of the ſame tree; for if deſigning individuals, aided by the fury of popular clamour, confound all diſtinction, and deſtroy the ſprings that moved the wheels of government, it will ever terminate in the deſpotiſm of the moſt artful.

The power of parliament is certainly delegated; the limitation of their time of ſitting, the check from the other powers, their own incapability of acting without the concurrence of his Majeſty and the houſe of lords, is too evident to aſſert any omnipotency in either them, or their electors,

electors, the people. One cannot but ſmile when we hear of the omnipotence of an illiterate multitude. We ſhould be indeed glorioufly governed, if they were to be our rulers! I cannot conceive how it is poſſible (even by thoſe who ſtrive by every popular art to inſinuate themſelves into the good graces of the people) to ſtile them omnipotent. Is their omnipotence in reſpect to the formation of the laws?—Are there no other powers to acquieſce in them? Is it with reſpect to force? Their numbers are great, but eaſily diſperſed by diſciplined troops. Is it with reſpect to judgment?—I am afraid that is not with them, entirely omnipotent.

Freedom, and all its ineſtimable advantages, cannot be too much cheriſhed; but every true lover of his country will not, by a ſophiſtry of reaſoning, inflame the minds of his fellow-citizens, by endeavouring to inſtil that the adminiſtration of his country is in dangerous hands. When no intereſted conſideration prompts, it ought to be an univerſal attempt to prop the the pillars of that government by which alone our country flouriſhes and our domeſtic felicity is enſured. What anarchy muſt attend the ſub-

verſion

verſion of government! I am confident it will be replied, that their intention does not tend to ſo deſtructive an end: they only are deſirous to change the meaſures that are purſued by the preſent miniſtry, and put the helm into abler hands. Allow me a homely ſimile—Government is but an intricate ſuperſtructure. Suppoſe we are continually ſapping the foundation, in raiſing new ſupporters—the new ones are unable to prop the pile, and the old ones ſo weakened as to totter under its weight.

I ſhall paſs over many of Mr. P.'s obſervations, the pernicious tendency of which are too obvious to be commented. He inſinuates, by falſe deductions, very different concluſions from thoſe candor would dictate.

Many of his remarks, that he eſtabliſhes as facts, I believe, are very open to refutation. He affirms that liberty is the only ſoil where the arts and ſciences flouriſh. Let us, for a moment allow it. At what period were they ever ſo celebrated as the preſent? yet we are, agreeable to his obſervations, deprived of all our glorious rights—and in a ſtate of actual ſlavery. But he errs in his propoſition, though he may quote

quote the page of Longinus, Addiſon, &c, &c. yet fact, ſtubborn fact, will refute them. In what age of the Roman empire, were the arts and ſciences at their zenith? In the reign of Auguſtus. France and Italy, whoſe government is entirely abſolute, have they not riſen almoſt to the higheſt pitch? Had he remarked, that commerce only can flouriſh in a free ſtate, his aſſertion had been, indeed, true. Abſolute dominions, from their very nature, cannot extend their commerce. Here is another proof of the freedom we enjoy. Does not trade flouriſh, and even encreaſe, in all our ports?

I believe that ſentiments of genuine freedom, untainted by oſtentation, never ſtamped the genius of any period of hiſtory more remarkably than the preſent. "Many ſycophants of po-"wer have been ſacrificed,"—but ſurely it is more conſonant to humanity, more glorious for the nation, that no ſuch, of any importance, exiſt. While the miniſter poſſeſſes public and private virtues, the channel by which the current of royal favour flows, cannot be ſullied. While we have a gracious King, whoſe actions are as untainted as his heart: while he is ſo cautious in the choice of thoſe entruſted with

the adminiſtration of public affairs, we can fear no event, that ſhould place the ſubject in a parallel ſituation, to contend in the ſame cauſe that raiſed the public arm againſt Charles the Firſt, or the unhappy James: and that ſuch a period may never again be read in Britiſh hiſtory, muſt be the prayer of every honeſt mind.

The page of hiſtory will point various examples of the ſubordination of one community to another, where the diſtance, the viciſſitude, and uncertainty of the element, the repreſentatives muſt go through, ſupply us with a ſtriking obſervation of its impracticability. What an advantage might not Mr. P. affect, if he could explore, in any quarter of the world, two horſes, like Pegaſus, where his favourite Americans might, in the ſpace of a few days, not only convey their repreſentatives, but by the means of the ſame rapid flight, ſend continually their inſtructions. If a ſtate receives all the advantages that law, protection, and aſſiſtance of another can afford, ſurely ſhe ought to acknowledge herſelf indebted in the moſt grateful manner, independent of all natural ſubordination. If we allow the Americans to be in the ſtate of ſlavery that Mr. P. paints them, we muſt diveſt his Majeſty,

Majeſty, and both houſes of parliament, of every principle of humanity. We muſt ourſelves be in the ſame ſlaviſh condition ; as the ſame laws, the ſame legiſlators, that govern them, rule us. The intereſt of Britain and her colonies muſt be invariably the ſame ; are they not a part of the politic body ? Is not the ſafety of every part of importance to the whole ?

It is ſtrange, that England, ever celebrated for her zeal in the cauſe of freedom, ſhould become all deſpots ; that the country, whoſe very ſoil is repugnant to it, who would never ſuffer a tyrant, ſhould have the ſeeds in every one of its conſtituents. Again, every government requires a degree of parade ; a military eſtabliſhment has been eſteemed requiſite in the moſt popular ones.

In America, the aſſembly choſen by the people, a council elected by that aſſembly, and a governor appointed by the ſovereign ſtate, and a variety of different offices for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice, denote a freedom of conſtitution—not a ſtate of ſervitude. The very exiſtence of a ſuperior legiſlature is ſtill ſtrongly in their favour. If the governor acts in a tyrannic

manner, there lies an appeal againſt him, to thoſe from whom they are certain of redreſs. Thus circumſtanced, no governor dares to deviate from his duty.

The colonies are governed by the laws of England : if the aſſemblies were to form their own, and ſubmit as their inclination prompted, to one or the other—what a ſcene of confuſion !

Permit me to remark, that fear, that flattery, that the hope of preferment may tempt many to protect a deſpot, but it will be found very rare, that a whole nation would unite to oppreſs a dependent one, who, if they were not actuated by ambitious infatuation, would require no more military than was requiſite to retain impatient ſpirits in a ſenſe of their allegiance. Impoſſible ſuppoſitions, chimeras, as they can only pleaſe for the moment, without any importance, and ſhew the fertility of the writer's invention, are paſſed over in ſilence, to moulder into inſignificancy.

" Are there not cauſes by which one ſtate
" may acquire a rightful authority over another,
" though not conſolodated by an adequate re-
" pre-

" preſentation ?" I anſwer, there are ſuch cauſes.—The right of conqueſt, though it is to be conſidered as the leaſt permanent, while the ſame power does not reſtrain it under ſubjection, that firſt gave a title to it, yet, to deduce good from evil, if it can be ſo ſtiled—the Roman empire (for many of their conqueſts were ſubſequent to the republican form of government) though they uſurped dominion over whole kingdoms, yet the arts of knowledge and politeneſs firſt dawned under their ſucceſsful invaſions—A juſt war cannot be indemnified,—in the way of reimburſement, I allow it may; but what can compenſate for the loſs of the many lives ſacrificed in the conteſt. Security againſt any future injury in an hoſtile ſtate, can conſiſt only in the want of power to exert their not-extinguiſhed reſentment.

Compact may and ought to be binding.—If a ſtate is in imminent danger of being reduced to the ſubjection of another power, and ſhe makes ceſſions to a ſtate equally, or more powerful than her invader, to protect and ſupport her —Surely if ſhe is ſaved by the guardian wing, it ought never to be effaced from the memory of poſterity, to whom they owe their very exiſtence.

" Obli-

" Obligation conferred, in the mind of a " generous people, is indeed a powerful tie." Compact, in many inſtances, is the effect of obligation. Liberty is an ineſtimable bleſſing— but how can a ſubordination to a ſtate, jealous of her freedom, be entitled ſervitude. Are taxes levied? Are there impoſts? Do not the Americans receive an adequate return? One would ſuppoſe, they wanted no duties, no taxes; yet they imagine, they have a right to be protected, and that the Engliſh are to be taxed to pay the expence of their ſupport. It would have been fortunate for us, if we had poſſeſſed no territory in America; our debts would not have been ſo large, nor our taxes ſo burdened.

Different communities forming an empire, ought to have mutual intereſts. It is by their union, that they are powerful and reſpected. If every community is governed within itſelf, not ſubordinate to one great legiſlature, they would all be ſoon divided. Ambition in every one of them would lead ſome artful individual to place himſelf at the head; and oppoſition, that ſprung from a miſtaken ſenſe of liberty, would

would end in deſpotiſm. If an empire, and at beſt it can only be nominal, be not taxed by one great legiſlative body, but are ruled by an internal legiſlation, they would ſoon be entirely their own maſters; and where a ſtate, as well as a man, knows he has committed an injury, it is too frequent they become irreconcileable enemies. Can the deſpotic authority of a Grand Signor be compared to the free lenient power of a Britiſh parliament. If the parent ſtate is free, the independent ones, if governed by the ſame laws, muſt enjoy the ſame liberty. The example of Rome is not juſt—Rome itſelf was governed in the moſt democratic manner, while all her provinces were governed by military force. When Rome, the darling nurſe of art and ſcience, became the fatal prey to a tyrant, yet to him we are indebted for the Auguſtan age; it freed the world from civilized maſters, to become the ſlaves to the bolder invader, and rude unpoliſhed barbarians. The light of reaſon and refinement that Roman manners had ſpread over the conquered world, was ſoon obſcured by monkiſh ſuperſtition, and the forfeiture of all that might have enlightened their unadorned and ill-inſtructed minds.

PART II.

I Am extremely apprehenſive, that Mr. P— will find the more rational part of mankind differ from him in their manner of thinking with reſpect to America—for this, "he is inclined to make great allowances."

I ſhould be happy to learn who are ſo ſtupid as to imagine, the colonies hold their exiſtence only for our uſe. If they deem themſelves amenable to the laws of this country, all that are promulged here bind them. Ignorant muſt Mr. P— imagine thoſe to be, if there are any, of the leaſt degree of common underſtanding, who are unacquainted of what colour they are, and what language they ſpeak, when they daily crowd over. The common people mingle with ours; the genteeler with thoſe of their own rank. Every friend to the honour of his country, muſt wiſh that this rebellion may cloſe, and the veil that obſcures their better genius, be thrown aſide.

If

If precedents, ſtatutes, charters, are of no eſtimation, adieu, at once to all order. If any controverſies ariſe, to what can we have reſource, but to them? Theſe precedents, ſtatutes, charters, have been formed at different periods, during a ſeries of above 200 years. The meaſures of government have been, in the vaſt ſucceſſion of miniſters, for ſo long a ſpace, with reſpect to America, invariably the ſame. Has reaſon and equity been ſo great ſtrangers to the Engliſh conſtitution, as to eſtabliſh laws, to approve of them for almoſt two centuries, which Mr. P— now finds out to be arbitrary, illegal, and in oppoſition to the dictates of humanity.

In the occurrences of private life, reaſon and juſtice ought to be the ſtandard of our conduct; the criterion by which we judge of others; in maxims of ſtate policy they are one of its moſt eſſential properties, nor will ever true policy be found to deviate from them—But if I am injured, if I am deprived of my rights, every law of nature, moral as well as civil, will prompt me to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe claims that I am unjuſtly bereaved of. Let us, for a moment, examine, who are the patrons to Ame-

rica, who are the uniform oppoſers to government: they conſiſt of two ranks; thoſe diſaffected, diſappointed in their purſuit after lucrative employs: the other, I am even ſorry to imagine it, are the Diſſenters; but as this has been diſcuſſed in the "Remarks on the dif-"ferent opinions relative to the American co-"lonies." I ſhall here drop it.

That no parallel inſtance of rebellion may ever deface the annals of hiſtory; that it may conclude with honour to England; that the Americans, ſenſible of their infatuation, may wake from their dreams. Cruel muſt that diſpoſition be, who after riſing to manhood, by the protecting wing of an indulgent guardian, wiſhes to plunge a dagger in his breaſt. If he can only preſerve his being, and act his duty to poſterity, by the defence of himſelf, and the puniſhment of his execrable enemy, he muſt be void of all the feelings of humanity, if he does not exert his utmoſt force.

Mr. P. divides his inquiry into the following ſections.

1. In

1. In reſpect of juſtice.
2. The principles of the conſtitution.
3. In reſpect of policy and humanity.
4. The honour of the kingdom.

And laſtly, The probability of ſucceeding in it.

SECT. I.

Of the juſtice of the war with America.

THE hoſtilities with America muſt be acknowledged (except by thoſe either deaf to reaſon, or diſſaffected to government) to be founded on juſtice and policy. What pen, without a great portion of ſelf-ſufficiency, let its penetration be ever ſo ſagacious, dare cenſure the acts of parliament; acts, that experience has ſtampt as juſt, and obſervation marked, as the effect of reaſon. If we are deprived of the right to tax America, what power have we over our colonies? There is an immenſe difference between a right to that part of the poſſeſſions in America, that is requiſite to ſupport their own government, and a title to the whole.—Does the privilege of taxation in England, imply a right to our

poſſeſſions? Politics and religion, in our enlightened age, are widely diſtinct; ſupremacy is a claim entirely obliterated: yet it is very extraordinary, that thoſe, who vary from the eſtabliſhed faith, and live under the lenient influence of adminiſtration, are ever firſt to canvaſs its meaſures, and diſapprove its regulations. The mild, the indulgent hand of a Britiſh parliament would require but a ſmall reſtriction, to continue her ſubject provinces in a ſenſe of allegiance. Were they ſimply conſcious of their own advantage, peace and concord would ſpread her all beneficial dominion over every part of the united empire. If the baneful aſcendancy of ſome diſorder, poiſonous to the whole frame, becomes predominant, and the force of gentler medicines fail, we muſt find ſome more violent expedient to ſuppreſs its deſtructive emanations.

"The ſuperiority of the Britiſh ſtate," ariſes not "from wealth" or the "number of our "people—knowledge or virtue." We are infinitely obliged to Mr. P— for placing the philoſophers of America, on an equality with our own. America may produce a Cromwell, and I ſcruple not to aſſert, however ineffectual his de-

deſigns may be) that there is one in embryo, but they will never, I dare aſſert, rival a Newton, a Milton, or a Pope. The pretended ignorance of Mr. P—, with reſpect to the real foundation of our authority over America, is too glaring not to be obſerved, even by the moſt ſuperficial eye. He forms queſtions, that were never ſtated, and gives ſolutions to what will not admit of a negative. One interrogation is ſo much beyond the line of probability, that ſcarce merits a reply—"The Engliſh came from Ger-"many, Does that give the German ſtates a "right to tax us?" What inference can be extracted with reſpect to America? Were the Engliſh emigrated, ſupported, and foſtered by the Germans? They came over in ſhoals, deluged from the overflowing multitudes of the north, and the poverty of their own country. Can the inſolence of barbarians, in their inundations, be compared to the generous ſupport that we have afforded America, deſcended from the ſame anceſtors, and ſubject by every tie, to the ſame legiſlature?

Sentiments on religious and political ſubjects can have no affinity—Unity of a ſtate forms its ſtrength

ſtrength; and unleſs the different parts of the body politic are governed by the ſame legiſlature, it will branch out in a variety of intereſts, and enfeeble the whole. In religion, experience has taught us, that many ſects may exiſt in a ſtate, and unite in the general cauſe. In the Britiſh dominions, all ſectaries own their allegiance, though the Diſſenters are the general oppoſers of government.

Mr. P. imagines, that the augmentatation to our national debt, cauſed in our protection of the Americans, amply repaid—that we did it, on our own account. (In one circumſtance it was, we then conſidered the Americans, as they now actually are, our ſubjects, we could not penetrate into the *anguis in herba*). But if ſome præſcient being could have whiſpered the grateful return, adminiſtration muſt indeed have been deprived of all ſenſe, if it had not left them to become the prey of a deſpotic maſter. They then might have proved good ſubjects, and like ſome animals, the more they receive diſcipline, the better they behave, and even at leaſt ſeem to love you the more—" They had

" an

" an excluſive trade with us," gracious God the mighty obligation.

They condeſcended to trade with us—Are not the advantages of commerce mutual? If they had no intereſt from it, how have they roſe from turbulent Oliverians to the flouriſhing enlightened ſtate Mr. P— deſcribes them. " They fought " by our ſide," all great and galant! While we were engaged in their defence, they graciouſly lend their arm in the ſame field of battle.—" As " freemen, they have never diſcovered any re- " luctance in giving;" that is, *in futuro*, if left to their option; they may perhaps ſometimes deign to aſſiſt, if they imagine they can reap any benefit from it—" But in obedience to " a demand, and with bayonets at their breaſts, " they will give us nothing but blood."—Who demands? Can the acts of parliament be ſtiled demands? Who placed the bayonets at their breaſt? their own ſeditious principles.—The words of Pet. Arb. are very applicable to the Americans, *Vera redit facies, diſſimulata perit.* The maſk is thrown away, and the principles of the firſt ſettlers are but too evident. I imagine, the next maxims that are taught, will be the ſubor-

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dination of England to America—it will be urged, " that as the genius of liberty has fled " from her once favourite ſhore, and deigned " to fix her reſidence on the continent of Ame- " rica, a nation, whoſe people, uninſtructed " in artifice, unallured by the bait of pleaſure, " untaught in the refinements of voluptuouſneſs, " content with a ſimple mode of living, where " freedom ſeated her throne, requires no taxes, " no duties are requeſted, no regulations, no " police requiſite—Harmony reigns without " them, and the public treaſury is ever over- " flowing by the frank donations of a free peo- " ple. Where can we better hope for the reſto- " ration of the all-admired, the glorious con- " ſtitution we inherited, though like a prodigal " we have ſquandered it, but from the ad- " miniſtration of ſuch a people. The golden " age would be reſtored, and America rival " Rome in its moſt flouriſhing period."

It has been eſtabliſhed by the conſent of all nations, that the firſt finders have a right to the country—Sailing along a coaſt, in poſſeſſion of another, gives no privilege to it—I allow, that property ſo eſtabliſhed, is founded ſolely by univerſal

univerſal aſſent; and like many things, it is the only rule we can judge by. The aſſent to it for ſo long a ſpace, proves at leaſt its utility—it prevents confuſion, and whatever is the cauſe of that, muſt be juſt.

What privileges do not the Americans enjoy, equally with the reſt of (except the ſingle one of repreſentation) Britiſh ſubjects? It appears to me reduced to this ſimple propoſition—that they and their friends in England want us to bear the whole burden; and on a requeſt of their participating in it, it is replied, that if you will not act as we judge proper, the ſword ſhall decide—A few ambitious men there keep up their prejudices, and inflame their minds, while their friends here are trying every expedient to irritate the minds of the people; but to their praiſe, be it ſaid, without the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

Mr. P. lays no ſtreſs on charters—They are not of a nature to be regarded—Yet when there is a poſſibility of extracting the leaſt pretenſion to favour the Americans, he would find that charter to be of weight. If charters are not

efficient, what human power is to be ſacred, unleſs experience ſhould teach, that any one, though formed by the neceſſity of the times, ſhould afterwards prove prejudicial. In the name of God, let it be repealed. But are the moſt inviolable bonds that guard ſociety, to be recalled, becauſe ſedition aſks it? I had ſooner dwell in a land of ſlaves, than in a country, where the tumultuous cry of a few madman can overturn the moſt ſalutary inſtitutions. An infant nation, emigrated from a powerful one, may ſtipulate conditions on the promiſe of ſupport and protection—Nature dictates it. Thoſe conditions ought to bind poſterity, if they recollected, that they would have had no exiſtence, or at leaſt a poor one, had not their progenitors wiſely granted ſome things, to enſure grandeur to their poſterity—but nature never would ſtipulate; nature would never aſk, to expoſe a human being to the excurſions of wolves and tygers—What ſimilitude can it bear?

How is the repreſentation of this country defective? Parliament repreſents us; the voluntary election of a whole people.—The world has been laviſh in its encomiums of the excellence

lence of our government. It is the wiſeſt, and the moſt equitable that ever exiſted! Yet Mr. P. thinks America is contending for a better —Skilful nation! to explore what ages have ſtrove in vain for, and what ages have applauded —Luxury and vice have been the theme of every writer in every age; the ſame complaints that exiſt now, formed the page of the cenſurer for centuries paſt.—Happy country, that when England ſinks, ſhe may fly to you, and in your boſom pour the laſt retreat from ſlavery at home. What a ſtate! How ought it to exult, when Mr. P. predicts, that Aſtræa will make it her laſt reſidence on earth.

The queſtion is, whether America is part of the Britiſh conſtitution? If not, we have no right to taxation: but if America owns itſelf our ſubject—taxation is the only proof of its ſubordinacy. For that we contend; there can be no medium; America either is, or is not part of the Britiſh empire—It admits of no palliation. When any ſmall ſtate in an empire is obnoxious to the whole, it is requiſite for the well-being of all, that they ſhould feel for their ill-actions equally with a criminal indivi-

dual, who, if he eſcaped puniſhment, would tend to the ſubverſion of all civil order.

The magic on which Mr. P. founds the whole force of his argument, is torturing a few plain words into a ſenſe they cannot admit of—" the right of taxation," he ſtyles a diſpoſal of their property. In England, though Parliament has undoubtedly a right to tax, yet no privilege to diſpoſe of property. The exigencies of the ſtate require ſome portion, yet that implies no claim on the whole—" To be " ſubject to the laws and privileges of the parent " ſtate, he calls a power to model as it pleaſes." If they had the government of our colonies under their own formation, I wonder what arrangement they would purſue—I am inclined to think exact the reverſe of freedom. Mr. P. will ſay, How can any one ſurmiſe ſo ridiculous a ſuppoſition? Do they not now battle in the cauſe of liberty? I deny it—I believe it the laſt thing that entered into the brain of their preſent leaders.

Certainly our claim to the colonies, is unalienable. At preſent, Mr. P. ſays, " they

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" are about half our number; but in fifty or " ſixty years, they will double our number"— ſo in proportion, in the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years, we ſhall ſcarce be a handful, to ſo numerous, ſo great an empire, equally celebrated for their advancement in all the arts of life, as rapid in the increaſe of their progeny. Mr. P. may hold in deriſion " this " handful of people on the other ſide the At- " lantic," yet be it the wreath that crowns every Briton, that wherever fortune may lead him, he is proud of his native country, nor would change it for this mighty America, this darling of Mr. P.

If we were to allow, that philoſophy, and the muſes of America, rivaled our moſt celebrated, we ſhould boaſt, that a people emigrated from us, had retained thoſe talents for which our iſle has ever been renowned—but alas! the bluſh muſt now overſpread the face of every Engliſhman, if ever the Americans are mentioned in his preſence by a ſtranger!

The dreadful painting of Mr. P. of the time that may come, when liberty and virtue will

will take their final adieu. That time will come when the earth will be no more. If the piercing præſcience of Mr. P. can divine ſuch a period, let him not keep it ſolely to himſelf, but acquaint us all with the important æra, that we may fly to his aſylum of arts, knowledge, and freedom. When ſuch a deſcription is realized, let his beloved America then exert her power—the conteſt would be as great and meritorous, as it is now ſhameful and ſeditious.

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuiſſe & non potuiſſe refelli.—OVID.

When the government of Britain is once plunged into that abyſs of ignominy; when the free ſpirit that now prevails, is mouldered into ruin; her colonies might then with juſtice ſtrive to preſerve themſelves from the ſame fate: but while the adminiſtration here is equitable; while law, juſtice, policy, and reaſon, hold the reins of government, nothing but ſedition, and the worſt of principles, could prompt the Americans to ſo deſtructive a rebellion. Let us not torture our imaginations at the view of ſo gloomy a ſcene; and if ever a thought ariſes, that tends

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to ſuch an improbable one, diſpel them with a petition to the divine Being, to ward off for ever the hour that deprives us of all that is valuable in life.

If the Houſe of Commons is capable of ſacrificing to regal power, the juriſdiction intruſted to her of the colonies, ſhe will not long perſevere in the preſervation of our own; but thanks to the genius that preſides there, the rights of the people, their own privileges, are as cautiouſly guarded, as the ſincereſt lover of his country can requeſt—While our gracious ſovereign aims at no ſubverſion of any popular rights, while he arrogates no unconſtitutional powers, we need not alarm the minds of the multitude, too eaſily impoſed on.—If we were to grant them the extent of their preſent, at leaſt, their ſeeming-wiſh, and they were to eſtabliſh a democratic ſyſtem, how long would it exiſt? Experience, to make uſe of the words of the hiſtorian, would teach them, that real liberty conſiſts in a due obedience on laws and government. The Athenians, A. M. 3380, ſenſible of the error in their government, were deſirous of eſtabliſhing a legiſlator, but for a fear of pro-

proceeding too far, there aroſe, what will always happen, in caſes where either the ſubject rebels againſt the actual government, or where there is no regular one, different factions. At Athens, Megacles, Piſiſtratus, and Lycurgus, were the three heads: the firſt, powerful by his wealth; the ſecond, (as the author of the hiſtory of Greece remarks) by the mildneſs of his behaviour, his affability, and his great liberality towards the poorer citizens, had acquired the higheſt popularity; but his winning behaviour was no more than an artful cover to the moſt ambitious deſigns. Thus would America have been ſituated, had adminiſtration at home not curbed a rebellion, that would have cloſed in the tyranny of ſome American Piſiſtratus—who, by popular proteſtations, by large donations, would have ingratiated himſelf, and blinded them, till they could reſiſt. Tully juſtly obſerves, *conſuetudinem benignitatis largitioni longe antepono, hac eſt gravium hominum atque magnorum—Illi quaſi aſſentatorum populi, multitudinis levitatem voluptati quaſi titillantrum.*

The words, "freemen and ſlave," are magic to the brain—The idea of being deprived of

of being deprived of our liberty, baniſhes every other conſideration; the abhorrence to ſlavery is ſo great, that we run away with the idea, without reflecting, how diſtant, how improbable it is, that we can ever be entangled in the deteſted chains. Incendiaries in general are convinced of it; the word alone will aid their deſigns; while the cool empaſſioned reader ſees through the veil, that is almoſt pervious to the ſlighteſt view. The very act of toleration will be cenſured by every ſect, precluding their own. The birth to the productions of authors, diſaffected to their country, is another teſtimony of the freedom we poſſeſs. Was parliament but a ſet of tools; were the officers of ſtate venal; were the miniſters but the inſtrument of an arbitrary tyrant; were the people abſorbed, and plunged into luxury and voluptuouſneſs, ſuch books would not be ſuffered to appear—but our glorious conſtitution permits the freedom of the preſs; by it, our poſſeſſions are ſafe, the liberty of our thoughts may be frankly diſcuſſed, and even the rebellion of America finds its ſupporters againſt the admirable ſyſtem of our government, againſt thoſe laws, revered by

all Europe, and which prove an impregnable rampart to the encroachment of regal power.

SECT. III.

Whether the war with America is juſtified by the principles of the conſtitution.

TO extend our ideas beyond the preſervation the colonies, it is evident, that almoſt the tranquility of the whole empire depends on our exertion in this rebellion—Had we tamely ſtooped to the daring ſpirit of the Americans; had we ſuffered our conſtitution to have been infringed—what an inſtance of puſilanimity had we diſcovered to all Europe! What an example to all our ſubjects—Rebellion might have reared her head in every quarter of the world. The ſtreſs Mr. P. lays, that if we have the power of taxation, though he expreſſes in other words, it implies a right to deliver them to the Grand Seignor. It would not have been great loſs to us, if we had never had ſuch turbulent ſubjects—'Tis the ſecond civil war, their ſeditious tenets

tenets have been the cauſe of, κακῦ κόρακος. κακὸν ὠόν.

" Suppoſe the colonies of France or Spain " had enjoyed, by compacts, for near a century " and a half, free government, &c." Why travel in the land of ſuppoſitions, when we cannot be ignorant, that either France or Spain would not ſuffer any of her colonies to enjoy a liberty, that their governments will not admit of. I will venture to affirm, from the natural diſpoſitions of our colonies, that if Parliament had repealed the acts, obnoxious to them, they would have found ſome ground of quarrel, if we had not acquieſced in all their factious demands. The ſeed was too deeply rooted, not to have ſprung up. It has been long burſting for a vent.

The people, that is, their repreſentatives, have the ſole diſpoſal of their own money. The Americans, for various cauſes, have no repreſentatives, and relying as they do, on the juſtice of Parliament, they would find no foundation for diſapproving meaſures evidently adapted for the benefit of the whole, had they

not been predetermined on oppoſition. I would aſk one queſtion, Are the Americans taxed in an adequate manner to the expence of their government? Mr. P. deſcribes them as numerous and powerful—Are their duties proportionate to ſo flouriſhing a ſtate? The cauſes of the unhappy ſtruggle in Charles I. I ſhall paſs over. However beneficial its conſequences have been, we ſhould be grateful for what we enjoy, and not call to recollection, a period ſo full of horror.

A war, thus undertaken in the ſupport of our conſtitution, whoſe very being is connected with it, ought to be promoted, and carried on with united vigor on our ſide, till rebellion is conconvinced, that her erroneous deſtructive principles have been the deteſted cauſe of the profuſion of ſo much blood, that years of allegiance can alone atone for. But as compulſion can ſolely reſtrain them in a ſenſe of duty, a military force will be impelled to retain them in it—Cruel alternative! either to give up a country, foſtered and protected by an immenſe expence, or by the ſword, to decide whoſe ſubjects they are. It is dangerous to enfeeble government by

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ſpeculations, how much more laudable to conceal from an unthinking multitude, the ſource of government—the obedience due to authority ought never to be canvaſſed by the people, who, when they find themſelves eſſentially injured by their rulers, will always invent expedients to remove them—Deprive government of that reverence that it claims from people of all ranks, you withdraw its chief pillar. If America was diſunited from us, what a variety of plans would wander among them, till the moſt artful could ſeat himſelf on the throne. One great ſource of evil, and which adds fuel to the rebellion, is the number of petitions that were preſented to the throne in favour of the Americans. In the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second, an act paſſed, that no more than twenty were to ſign their names to any petition, but with the ratification of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury: the fine on a treſpaſs was 100l. and three months impriſonment.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the policy of the war with America.

I have ſomewhere before obſerved, that I imagined the tranquility of the whole empire pended on the vigorous exertion of the war againſt the rebellious colonies. The whole ſubject has been ſo ably diſcuſſed, that, I am confident, I ſhould not have been preſumptuous enough to have delivered my opinion on it, after ſo able a pen, as the dean of Glouceſter, had not the pernicious tendency of the pamphlet now under diſquiſition, called for a reply.

The cauſe of the war was an attempt in the Americans of retiring from the ſubordinacy to the parent ſtate. We muſt either have acknowledged, that we had, till then, enjoyed only a uſurped authority, or purſued the only political one, that of reſiſtance. Eſtabliſhed cuſtom, that foundation of all law, the concurrence of above a century; the acknowledgement of the firſt ſettlers; the advantages derived, all co-

operated

operated to entitle us to the legiſlative power over the Americans. The object of war is clearly that of public intereſt—It cannot be for its own ſake, "Extenſion of dominion," as Mr. P. terms it. How can ambition prompt us, when America is part of the empire? If there was to be an inſurrection in Scotland, and our miniſtry ſent an army to quell it, I ſuppoſe Mr. P. would deem it, "the luſt of power, and a "deſire to extend our dominions." The one caſe is equally applicable as the other.

"All government, even *within* a ſtate, be-"comes tyrannical, as far as it is a needleſs and "wanton exerciſe of power; or is carried "further than is abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve "the peace, and to ſecure the ſafety of the ſtate." I believe all mankind will aſſent with Mr. P. but he here, for once, is a friend to the preſent meaſures; the preſervation of peace; the ſafety of the ſtate depends on the hoſtilities with our colonies. The very life of government is its object, and the leaſt relaxation would merit the ſevereſt cenſure; and all the opprobious epithets of Mr. P. would then be juſtly placed. In all diſtant ſubordinate provinces, if the government

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of the chief ſtate is ſo enervated as to paſs unnoticed every improper act of their provinces, in a few years their dependance would be effaced from their minds, and a juſt contempt for their feeble rulers would inſtigate them to ſhake off allegiance to ſo puſillanimous a power. To diſcover a timidity is to betray a fear that we err, that we are dubious if we really poſſeſs any authority over them. The miniſtry, convinced of the truth of this remark, would have bluſhed to have ſubmitted to the American rod, and to have ſacrificed the policy and honour of the nation to the clamour of a feeble minority. Gracious God! If the oppoſition had been in power, and had purſued ſubmiſſive meaſures, and bowed the neck to our colonies—what diſhonour had not been reflected! what diſgrace had not ſtained the preſent period! To have concealed our authority, had been a tacit confeſſion, that we were ſenſible of an error—What a triumph to all our foes. But when we are poſſeſſed of power; when unanimity at home adds an additional luſtre to our arms, why ſheath the ſword, and become the ſcorn of Europe? Who, that bears any affection to his country, could ſuffer her power to be called in queſtion,

queſtion, for having tamely ſubmitted to her rebellious colonies.

All the artful painting of Mr. P. if it had been drawn from truth or reaſon, would have been lively; but while he ſtrives to inflame the imagination, and loſes ſight of that lenient ſoftneſs of argument, that embelliſhes every friend to his country, or patron to humanity; it awakes compaſſion, as well as reſentment; when talents, that might promote unity and peace, emulate the incendiary, and add new fuel to a flame, that he ſeems but too eager of its blazing; the fumes of ſelf-applauſe may indulge his own conceit, but the plaudit of the patriot will never adorn him.

And now, praiſe be to the animation of the miniſtry, the period is approaching, when America will be taught, that her riotous ſeditions will not paſs unpuniſhed, and from that period will a ſenſe of their own intereſt, a recollection of the paſt proſpect, rouſe them from their factious frenzy. If the genuine thoughts of every Briton were diſcovered, an approbation, which envy or intereſt can alone

exclude, would await the preſent adminiſtration.

Secondly, The conteſt, as Mr. P. deſcribes, after the ruin of the Americans, can yield no advantage to us. Rather let their towns be deſolated, than the name of every Briton ſullied; rather let them be ſeverely puniſhed, than an acknowledgement of inferiority, or confeſſion of error, ſhould give theſe proud coloniſts ſuch a cauſe of triumph; rather let them be impoveriſhed, than when, if we had ſubmitted to have ſuffered their arrogance to have roſe to a higher pitch, and denounced war againſt us. Rebellion, if ſucceſsful, never knows its limits—Many, whoſe reſtleſs ſpirits would have been cooled by order, will ariſe, and in the ſcene of confuſion, ſtill augment it, in the flattering expectation, that it may be the ſource of their own grandeur. Can the actions of a juſt people, be compared to the frantic ambition of an Alexander, or a Cæſar? They had no cauſe of reſentment; they depopulated, and laid waſte ſtates, over whom they had no power; we only are engaged in hoſtilities, in the defence of our own authority. Illiberal compariſon! Wretched ſtate in-

indeed! whoſe only joy is the deſolation of mankind, and the ambition of conqueſt.

" Blind reſentment, and the deſire of revenge, " are infernal principles"—true; but to apply ſuch terms to the preſent adminiſtration, argues, what I am ſorry any Briton ſhould be ſtyled. When the nation has been injured, inſulted, and her legiſlature contemned, to pour conviction by hoſtilities, that they have themſelves compelled; theſe ever admirable meaſures meet with names a ruffian can but merit. That people declaim againſt the colonies is not amazing; but how a native of Great-Britain can be a friend to rebels, and a foe to the government of his own country, is truly aſtoniſhing. What we have done has been ſimply the effect of obligation, reduced to a miſerable alternative, either to ſacrifice ourſelves, and puniſh rebellious ſubjects. Could adminiſtration hefitate, it could admit of no doubt—Adminiſtration, conſcious of the firm baſis on which it acts, is as much ſuperior to the trifling invectives of a Mr. P. as its conduct is ſo unſullied, as ſcarcely to permit the ſcrutiny of envy to diſcover any real blemiſh. The Americans have not dared to traverſe the

ocean, and desolate our country—Generous nation!—But "we have transported ourselves to "their peaceful retreats—we have carried war "and desolation," If subjects become rebels; if that fiend, ambition, pride, and wantonness of power, raise the arm of justice against them, where are they to examine for the cause of evil?—In themselves. "We expected," says Mr. P. "to find them a cowardly rabble"—They must have hitherto acted with extreme magnanimity, to have given us cause for such a supposition. The truth is, the levity of the Americans, tired with the lenient administration of a British parliament, are eager to experience the change of a free government, to a despot of their own.—Allow an impossibility—The British troops retired from their continent, their own Oliver on the throne, in a few months, they would supplicate our assistance to free them from the yoke. Again, their country would be a scene of blood—What a prospect! How much more would it tend to their advantage; how much would they convince the world of their candour, if they were to acknowledge their deception, and close this sanguinary rebellion? The best and wisest may be deceived; but to persist in it, stamps

ſtamps an obſtinate arrogance of mind. To the American, no intereſt can ſpring from a continuance of war. At the concluſion of it, it will require a ſeries of years and induſtry, to reinſtate them. Learning, that began to dawn, will ſtill be longer, before it recovers from the confuſion their preſent miſerable principles have involved it in. The arts of refinement, that delight in tranquility, will be almoſt entirely baniſhed, and not reſume her ſeat, till the olive branch has enlightened the night, that theſe hoſtilities have been the ſource of. Periſh the incendiaries of ſuch deſtruction! blaſted be the inſtigators of ſuch cruelty, that they may prove the ſcorn and deriſion of their fellow citizens, and the torment of their own hearts! Pity it is, that Mr. P. was not at the head of public affairs, at the commencement of this rebellion: his fertility of invention would have ſaved the honour of the nation, and would have continued the Americans in their allegiance.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colonies, the diſpoſition of the ſettlers prompted many to think, that their reſtleſſneſs would not ſuffer them to remain any longer in their allegiance, than

than they required the aſſiſtance of the ſtate that protected them. If the taxes are greater on America at preſent, than half century ago, their riches, their trade, are augmented in the ſame proportion. Who can imagine, that the different ſtages of a ſtate, as they riſe to opulence, are not more able to ſupport heavier burdens. Mr. P. runs on, with a rapid flow of words, to prove, that if we had borne every indignity, and receded from every act relative to the Americans, they would have remained our ſubjects. That this ſhould be the ſtyle of an American, a friend to their generals, would not be amazing. No expedient, however diſgraceful, would, I am confident, have ſoothed the Americans. Had we crouched under every inſult, Mr. P. thinks we might then have, in a courſe of time, gradually overcome their factious principles. The importation of tea was ſeized on, as an occaſion to alarm the minds of the people. The bait ſucceeded, and regardleſs that they were deſtroying the property of ſtrangers, they wantonly buried it in the ſea. Neceſſity would oblige the ruffian to plunder me; but he would not, for the ſake of injury to any one, deſpoil them. Here the property of a great company,

under

under the protection and concurrence of Parliament, cruelly periſhed; becauſe it was the whim of ſome factious Boſtonians. Such circumſtances as theſe, are not inſults! A compenſation immediately made, in acknowledgement of its error, might have diminiſhed the affront, but could ſcarcely have exculpated them. After our miniſtry had tried every expedient in vain to ſoften them; every propoſal was treated with contempt. If an angel had deſcended, and had ſtrove to calm them by the moſt conciliatory meaſures, his plans would have received only deriſion or defiance. To ſuch a people, the ſword only could teach a ſenſe of duty. At the commencement of hoſtilities, had our miniſtry conceived, that the coloniſts were reſolved to carry every thing on with ſuch an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of rebellion, they would have adopted meaſures, that ere this, would have tamed them; but the very leniency of adminiſtration is an argument made uſe of as a evidence of the vaſt proweſs of America.

What mind can look on the congreſs but with horror? Who can think of their generals but with abhorrence of their intentions? With the

eye

eye of compaſſion, we regard a devoted people, ſacrificed either to the factious, the reſtleſs, or ambitious. In the preceeding reigns, the Americans were as yet in their infancy; no duties were laid, becauſe we were convinced of their incapability of paying them; but now, opulent, why ſhould they not aſſiſt that government, to whom they are indebted for their very exiſtence? In former reigns, the Americans leſs powerful, leſs opulent, conſequently more peaceable; conſcious, that if they did not depend on the protection of the parent ſtate, their inability of defending themſelves, would ſoon have made them a prey to ſome more powerful kingdom, whoſe government, not being free, would have impelled them to have received their laws; they had not dared to have complained of real evils, under the iron rod of a French or Spaniſh dominion, much leſs have roſe in actual rebellion for imaginary ones. At that period, while they ſo immediately felt the enlivening influence of our ſupport, they eſteemed our monarch as their own. We enjoyed a few privileges over them; they traded almoſt ſolely, except their contraband commerce, with us, if ſo, was it ſimply to our advantage? Are they not opulent?

From

From what has it aroſe? We then eſteemed one another as fellow-citizens, ſubjects of the ſame empire. When they came here, they were regarded as the ſame people. But the ſcene is widely changed! increaſe of riches, a growing number of people, have inſpired ſome with hope, that they might diſunite the colonies from the parent ſtate. The cry of freedom, that never-failing word, that incendiaries make as ſubſervient to their deſigns, and which always ſets the multitude in an uproar, inflamed ſome; while others, carried by the current, unintentionally aided the rebellion. Many, whoſe thoughts were peace, dare not venture to pronounce them, for moderation and humanity are ever neglected, and even endangered, in all popular diſturbances. Mr. P's ideal plan, "of "rejoicing to ſee a multitude of free ſtates, "branched forth from ourſelves, all enjoying "independent legiſlatures, ſimilar to our own," is indeed but a vain chimera, it ſounds prettily in words, but experience would ſoon evince, how impracticable it was. Diveſt mankind of ambition, pride, and all human failings, it might have been reduced to practice; but we muſt take the world as it goes, nor reflect on the

conduct of a miniſter, becauſe he does not rule a golden age. His meaſures muſt be adapted to the manners and principles of the times. Affection has proved but a poor tie, to reſtrain the Americans—Intereſt would be not a iota more binding—Nothing but conceſſions from us, that would diſallegiate them, would be of any effect. What infamy! The King that could permit it, and the miniſter that dared adviſe it, would merit the ſevereſt voice of cenſure. Had our conceſſions kept pace with their demands, on we ſhould have went, till we had yielded every thing. Their power would have encreaſed, a variety of intereſts ſprung up, and in a few years we might have ſeen theſe Americans in the field of battle againſt us. If at preſent, when they are actually under our government, they carry their virulence to ſuch a pitch, what would they not ſtrove to have affected, when diſunited from the parent ſtate? Mr. P. ſeems deſirous, we ſhould tread in their ſteps—Periſh the thought! And may the time never come, when civil convulſions will lay waſte our country, and the ſtandard of rebellion reared in every quarter. Does the dignity of Great Britain depend on the humour of her colonies?

nies? Becauſe they are factious, are we all to be plunged into ruin? Our glorious conſtitution, that gives us ſuch ineſtimable rights, is to be in a ſtate of perdition, becauſe America chuſes to rebel.

The felicity that dawned over them, before ſuch violent principles ſubverted their harmony, and corrupted its very ſource, was very evident from the cauſe Mr. P. aſſigns, their population; and had not the Boſtonians, with their tendency to diſſention, ſpread the baneful contagion, they would have remained in the ſame happy ſtate.

The extreme humanity of the Engliſh conſtitution; the principles of liberty, inherent in our very nature, would prove an impregnable rampart to our exerciſing the leaſt degree of tyranny over America. If the principles of any man breathe a ſpirit of diſaffection to his country, it is no difficult taſk to picture a fictitious proſpect of impending ruin, to alarm the minds of the uninſtructed multitude. But let the *amator patriæ* convince his fellow citizens, that the helm of government is in the ableſt hands; that the fame of his country was never more

vered by foreign nations, than at this period; that commerce, arts, and ſcience, flouriſh with more than meridian glory. That theſe valuable advantages are as much the conſequent of thoſe on whom depend the important affairs of this mighty empire, as the inimitable form of our conſtitution. At no period of the world, did there ever exiſt a nation ſo truly free. The democratical nature of the Grecian republics, inſtead of ſpreading liberty, was the cauſe of thoſe revolutions, where cruelty triumphed in the moſt inhuman manner. But I deviate from my ſubject. Our hoſtilities with the colonies are founded on the baſis of truly patriot policy; the very ſafety, the happineſs of even America depends on its event. Thoſe writers, whoſe religion, whoſe tenets, delivered down from their anceſtors, heightened by diſappointment, or aggravated by diſaffected patrons, will be clamorous againſt adminiſtration—But are ſuch to be regarded? Is the enthuſiaſm of a madman to be compared to the gentler voice of reaſon? Is a part of the Britiſh empire to be ſacrificed, becauſe a few, of Oliverian principles, have averted the minds of their countrymen from their genuine happineſs. Is Ireland, becauſe ſhe pre-

fers

fers allegiance to the beſt of Kings, to a ſcene of deſolation and rebellious factions, to be ſtyled as ſlaves; to bear the cruel imputation of ſervitude, becauſe ſhe is ſatisfied with an admirable adminiſtration. Deteſted be the invectives, that wiſh to animate inteſtine commotions—horrid maxims! that tend to inflame the minds of our fellow-ſubjects. If the inſtigators of diſſenſion, are not content with the mode of their own government, let them ſeek for a better in foreign countries; and if they do not return to their own, with abhorrence of their paſt thoughts, with a conſciouſueſs, that not ſuch a one exiſts in the univerſe—what a heart muſt he poſſeſs. Mr. P. muſt imagine, his abilities to extend beyond almoſt the limits of human intelligence, if he can deem himſelf capable of giving even hints that have eſcaped the penetrating eye of adminiſtration. Look round the other empires of the world—Is there one in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as our own? Is there one, where the ſubjects enjoy ſo great bleſſings? What is there deficient, that human nature can require?

Monſieur De Lolme, in a Treatiſe of the Engliſh Conſtitution, lately publiſhed, aſks the following queſtion; which he himſelf anſwers.

" Are

" Are not the Engliſh perpetually making " complaints againſt the adminiſtration? And " do they not ſpeak and write as if they were " continually expoſed to grievances of every " kind? Undoubtedly, I anſwer, in a ſociety " of beings ſubject to error, diſſatisfactions, " from one quarter or other, will neceſſarily " ariſe; and in a free ſociety they will be open- " ly manifeſted by complaints: but thoſe com- " plaints, let it be remembered, are not, in En- " gland, the cries of oppreſſion, forced at laſt to " break its ſilence—They do not ſuppoſe hearts " deeply wounded; nay, I will go farther, " they do not even ſuppoſe very determinate " ſentiments, and they are often nothing more " than the firſt vent which men give to their " new, and yet unſettled conceptions."

Mr. P. finely remarks, " that if there was no " public debt, there would be no occaſion for " half the preſent taxes".—If the exigencies of ſtate had not required the demands of money, there would have been no debts: but is the pre- ſent adminiſtration to be cenſured, becauſe of debts contracted by many a prior one?

If

If Mr. P. or Mr. B. think we injure the Americans, and that the colonies are the only aſylum of liberty and honour; if government at home is arbitrary and illegal; if the people are ſo degenerated into luxury and refinement; if they are ſo loyal as to love and reſpect their aimable King, let them act as they profeſs, and in the field of battle be *patricides*, and vindicate rebellion.

SECT. IV.

Of the honour of the Nation, as affected by the war with America.

TO recede from the conteſt with rebellion; to ſuſtain the mortifying triumph of ſeditious ſubjects; to be dictated to by a factious aſſembly; to acknowledge the power of Great Britain inferior to the puniſhment of a few turbulent Americans, are doctrines that no one but an enemy to his country can inculcate.

The

The acts of government were ever eſteemed thoſe of the whole nation. They are, I ſhall only except a few diſſatisfied authors, who ſtrive to ſet the people in a blaze; but adminiſtration, like a rock, is not to be ſhaken by every trifling guſt. If a nation, as well as an individual, errs, let him recede; the triumph over paſſion is great and meritorious; but when juſtice, honour, and conſcious integrity raiſe the arm, let us not yield without an acknowledgement in the aggreſſor, and a ceſſation from the cauſe of injury. Let the proud American reflect on the lives ſacrificed in a deteſted cauſe; let him conſider that diſhonour muſt be the attendant of his country; that in future periods execration will await his name, and the hiſtoric page will bluſh at the narration: but I fear theſe ſalutary reflections are far from their deluded minds; the ſtory when peruſed by poſterity will ſcarce be credited—For us nothing appears remaining, but that the iron hand of war muſt root out principles ſo dangerous, ſo deſtructive to the peace of mankind.

Peace

Peace is diſpair'd!
Who can adviſe ſubmiſſion? War—then War, &c.

Let the caſuiſt explore ſophiſtic reaſon; let him draw ſpecious deductions; the voice of ſimple reaſon and juſtice, unadorned with the refinement of art, or the ſoftneſs of a period, will be loud againſt him: he may endeavour to drown them, but they will ſtill riſe and pour conviction in his ears. Strangers of every climate are amazed at their infatuated ingratitude—ſtrangers whoſe hearts whiſper them, how juſt, how equitable the Britiſh adminiſtration has been ever conducted; how every thing in oppoſition to public integrity has been diſcountenanced; how repugnant the breaſt of every Briton has been, againſt the leaſt incroachment of their adored liberty.

There can be no diſtinction between the people and their governors, in reſpect to their honour and ſecurity; they are two links, if ſeparated, muſt be both involved in the ſame ruin. Government is an inſtitution to effect whatever tends to the dignity or advantage of the kingdom? Not the will of a mob incapable of diſ-

cernment. The ideal charms of a free government, an equality, may pleaſe the enthuſiaſt in in his cloſet—but like a viſion of the night it vaniſhes as we wake. To retreat in a cauſe where the honour of the nation is concerned, where juſtice is one of its chief pillars, would caſt a ſtain on our preſent æra of Britiſh hiſtory; would argue a meanneſs, not to ſay a ſacrifice of that truſt, thoſe in office are confided with. Where the cauſe of quarrel does not ſpring from ourſelves, it would be infamous to make conceſſions to the aggreſſors, and thoſe aggreſſors rebels. Surely the united power of the Britiſh empire need not dread, or be intimidated by her colonies!—A powerful nation to acknowledge the acts of the wiſeſt, moſt humane legiſlature in the world, to be arbitrary, cruel, and unjuſt—this powerful nation at the zenith of her glory!—The reader muſt ſhudder at the thought. To behold his country at the feet of an inſulting American, confeſſing the ſuperiority over Great Britain, renouncing all paſt errors, with hope of forgiveneſs, if never guilty of the ſame indiſcretion again—For ſhame! Such language would rouſe the reſentment of the tameſt mortal. To the man whoſe breaſt does feel its

force,

force, all argument muſt be unavailing. A writer muſt find his ſubject very defective if he endeavours to draw compariſons where there is not the leaſt affinity. Were the Corſicans in the ſame ſituation, with reſpect to the Genoeſe, or the French, as our colonies to us? Are either of their governments ſimilar to ours? If the Corſicans had been under a legiſlature as equitable as ours, they would never have roſe in arms. "All ceſſions of one people to another "are diſgraceful to human nature." Undoubtedly: but who ever expreſſed a thought of ceding America? Are ſuch acts conſonant to the tenor of a Britiſh Parliament?

Since the creation of the world there never was a government ſo admirably adminiſtered as our own. All quotations, except where circumſtances reſemble exactly, are of no efficacy. Holland, alarmed at the cruel exactions, the tyrannical perſecutions againſt her by the Spaniſh monarch, threw off the yoke: but where has been theſe dreadfully cruel invaſions againſt the colonies? Are the acts of the Roman republic, at one period, under the tyranny of tribunes, dictators, but never enjoying any true liberty,

to

to be held in competition with the Britiſh Parliament? The compariſon of a magnificent palace to an humble cot would be equally ſtriking. All Mr. P.'s compariſons are as foreign to the purpoſe. England that would ſhed her deareſt blood in the defence of freedom; that would rear her irreſiſtible ſtandard againſt tyranny and oppreſſion, would never ſurely ſpread her protecting arm for thoſe who aſſume that name for the moſt deteſted purpoſes. It would ill become thoſe celebrated in the glorious defence of liberty, to ſtile rebellious ſubjects by that generous title. The language of hiſtory in future periods will be, that the natives of Great Britain, convinced of the amazing difference between the cauſe of real liberty, and the cry of ambition veiled under the ſpecious maſk of freedom; though they would ſupport the one, yet would not ſuffer the other to rear her hypocritic head. It generally happens in politics, as well as religion, that the diſcontented exclaim againſt the prevailing mode of either.

Mr. P. aſcribes our perſuaſion to begin hoſtilities was an opinion of their cowardice. I am ſorry he ſhould aſcribe ſo mean a motive to a

war undertaken to ſupport the rights of this country; or that Engliſh valour ſhould require ſo deſpicable motive, in a cauſe where the honour of his native country is ſo nearly intereſted. The noble Lord, Mr. P. mentions to have recommended, at the paſſing of the Boſton port-bill, coercive meaſures, undoubtedly imagined that the Americans were not ſo loſt to every ſenſe of honour and allegiance, as well as to their own intereſt, to have dared to continue their hoſtile intentions againſt the parent ſtate. Had the Americans been eſteemed as brave as the moſt romantic valour could aſpire to, would that have daunted us, when the honour of our country called for the arm of martial juſttice? The encomium paid to my countrymen is great; yet this calumniator of Britiſh courage pretends to be a ſubject of our gracious King.

That we might not too much drain our own country of its inhabitants, it was deemed requiſite to introduce foreign troops into America. Thoſe troops will be inſpired by the juſtice of the cauſe they are engaged in. While we are vindicating not only our own rights, but thoſe of mankind in general, not even France or Spain,

averſe

averſe as they are to the riſing grandeur of our kingdom, would ſeize an opportunity, when they muſt be convinced, that not only our own glory is concerned, but that the ſubjection of the whole weſtern world depends on the preſent conteſt.

It is impoſſible to conceive the effect, if we had receded in our acts relative to America. Other nations, under the adminiſtration of England might have deemed that they had an equal privilege to be exempted from the power of Engliſh government; at leaſt, if we may credit Mr. P. he eſteems all order and allegiance a proof of ſervitude. I wiſh all who profeſs ſuch maxims, lived under a different government—whether Grecian or Roman, they would then have known the ineſtimable bleſſing of our admirable conſtitution. After this war with America is concluded, the colonies will taſte the charms of peace and tranquility, will find them more engaging than bloodſhed and ſedition; they will be then aſſured, that what they conteſted for was but a chimerical idea, the fiction of ſome diſtempered and unſucceſsful ambition. A kingdom when its honour

nour is injured, that can think of a retreat, muſt be on the laſt ſtage, and loſt to every ſenſe of dignity or honour.

SECT. V.

Of the probability of ſucceeding in the war with America.

A well conducted army of 30,000 effective men muſt ever be ſuperior to an innumerable number of raw undiſciplined troops, led on by generals without experience, and void of any reaſon—why they battle againſt thoſe from whom they derived the bleſſing they enjoyed. A nation engaged in the cauſe of freedom will be animated with an irreſiſtible ardor: but where hypocriſy in the leaders aſſumes the name, and illuſion in the people the ſole inſtigator, it will widely differ from thoſe who are thoroughly convinced that their liberties are invaded. To evince the truth of what I advance, with reſpect to America, it would be difficult to draw a ſimilar compariſon from either antient or modern hiſtory. The Americans are peculiarly ſituated.

ſituated. There is an amazing diſtinction, when a nation is engaged in the preſervation of their rights, and a people battling in the cauſe of innovation. The event will juſtify the truth of my aſſertion. America, at the cloſe of the next year, will recede from her deſtructive principles; and, convinced that her manner of acting proceeded from error and artful repreſentation. Our naval force will awe them from an attempt to become maſters of the coaſt. If we had no maritime power, how could we enſure protection to our land forces? If, as Mr. P. imagines, they prefer deſtroying their ſea-port towns, to the leaving them a prey to their injured enemies, one purpoſe is thereby anſwered. If no naval force had oppoſed their maritime towns, they would have been maſters of the ſea. If they rebuild their towns more inland, the advantages of commerce will be loſt; without them, how can they propoſe to inrich their country, or even ſupport it? Recall the golden age; let them live on the paſture of their own lands; let the neceſſaries of life be all that's requiſite: baniſh the paſſions of mankind; let the innate principle of every one be ſo honeſt and upright as to require no laws, no magiſtrate; let every

one

one, content with an equality, never to aſpire to ſuperiority—they then will arrive to "that ſtate "of virtuous ſimplicity." I believe Mr. P. ſpeaks the ſenſe of (though I will not ſay the wiſeſt) men in America, yet he argues from principles truly American. To argue about the probability of a war, when at preſent it can be only that of opinion, is ſimply giving our own conjectures: but where the wiſeſt ſteps that human ſagacity can deviſe, are propoſed and put into execution, there is all human probability that the event will be what every lover of his country would deſire. Mr. P. is undoubtedly free from any ſuperſtition that regards the intereſt of his country: but where there is the leaſt opportunity to canvaſs the actions of an equitable adminiſtration, and to cenſure the actions of Parliament, that firm friend to the eſtabliſhed faith, he will clamour againſt every thing will reflect honour to either. "In this hour, ſays Mr. P. "of tremendnous danger, it would become us "to turn our thoughts to Heaven."—A piety of conduct adorns every man; but it deviates far from preſbyterian cant, or ſo much ſuperſtition. We ridicule them as fanaticks. If people will merit the appellation, let them not paſs

unmoleſted. I wiſh that every man may enjoy his *façon de penſer*, but let him not, becauſe he differs from general opinion, ſtrive to raiſe commotions. I know the pretended rigor of the preſbyterians would grow ſour at the very name of a maſquerade, or any amuſement; while, if they imagine themſelves exempt from the inſpection of a ſtranger, would commit as many faults as the greateſt frequenter of the moſt public diverſion.

Let us picture the real difference between our own kingdom and the colonies. Great-Britain, powerful, free, and opulent, the ſeat of arts and refinement, eminent for the extenſive talents in every branch of human knowledge; and at preſent all theſe co-operating under the beſt of miniſters, to raiſe the Britiſh name to the higheſt pinnacle of fame. While the colonies, like a fair field, badly ſown; the weeds entirely oppreſs the fine fruits it might have yielded; but what was ſaid by an antient philoſopher, that there never was an opinion, however abſurd, but found its ſupporters; ſo there never was a people, however ſeditious, but would have a defender. The people of York-

Yorkſhire are not ſubjects of the people of Middleſex; they are fellow-ſubjects, all acknowledging allegiance to law and government; ſo it has been with the Americans; they muſt either be ſubordinate to England, or totally alienated from it. We are taxed by our own repreſentatives; their ſituation will not admit of it. With regard to their trade, enough has been before remarked. "If they cannot," ſays Mr. P. "ſubſiſt without us, let them alone, they "will ſoon come back." Let any one aſk him, if they would ever have been in a degree of opulence, had we not foſtered them; or rather, would they have been a people at all? Mr. P. is offended, becauſe Parliament is contented with the meaſures of the miniſter—becauſe the two houſes have judgment to diſtinguiſh when public affairs are in the hands of honour and integrity. The influence of the crown cannot be prejudicial to the liberties of the kingdom, while the repreſentatives of the people are ſo guarded in their truſt. Conſcious of the important duty; conſcious that the rights of millions are confided to them, they would vindicate the nation in oppoſing any attempt to unconſtitutional meaſures. In India, avarice has been the fatal cauſe of

many oppreſſions; but has government been defective in any point to ſtop its diffuſion? Have not judges been ſent over, with powers to decide and ſuperintend any illegality? But the voice of cenſure ought not to cloud every one that goes to ſo diſtant a quarter of the globe; and in defence of many gentlemen that have made ample fortunes, I will venture to aſſert, that they have not deviated from the ſtricteſt honour or humanity.

It is evident, that the colonies, actuated by the turbulent principles of their anceſtors; ſome prompted by ambition, others inſtigated by a reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition; ſome from giddineſs, others from illuſion, gave riſe to this deteſted rebellion.

CONCLUSION.

AFTER all, I am inclined to make ſome allowance for the falſe reaſonings this pamphlet of Mr. P. abounds with. Mr. P. is a diſſenting preacher, born and nouriſhed in the very boſom of ſedition. I do not ſpeak the language of bigotry or perſecution; but I cannot help conſidering

ſidering the diſſenters as ſecret enemies to government, and an *imperium in imperio*. It is true, that at the acceſſion of the preſent family, they prayed and preached for its proſperity; but it was in hopes, as it came from Germany, and was bred up in a religion ſimilar to theirs, it would favour them more and more, till their favourite republicaniſm and preſbyterianiſm could be eſtabliſhed. The Diſſenters grew diſſatisfied; and they are now as much enemies to the real government of this country, as they have ever been. The Diſſenters may ſay, they are in the right; that they have reaſon, the laws of nature, Mr. Locke and Mr. Sydney on their ſide. This does not admit of a conſideration. The government and people of England are againſt them, for they are neither republicans nor preſbyterians. Mr. P. is both the one and the other; and reaſons throughout his pamphlet as ſuch, and not as a member of the Engliſh conſtitution. He is in fact no member of the Engliſh conſtitution—He is a member of faction, which has been, and ever will be, in politics and religion, at enmity with the conſtitution. The reader will permit a quotation which will illuſtrate this point from an excellent pamphlet,

lately

lately publiſhed [The Morality of a Citizen]. "Every body is preſerved by the concurrence "of the general principles which belong to it, "towards its preſervation. Whatever is intro- "duced into it, and has not that concurrence, is "a diſeaſe; and though it may accidentally "produce good, it is always to be guarded "againſt, and conſidered as an evil. All kinds "of diſſents and oppoſitions to the regular ope- "rations of a civil conſtitution, are political "diſeaſes; and though they may, like natural "ones, chance to be productive of great good, "yet their primary and natural tendency is to "deſtroy the conſtitution."

Again, "The queſtion is, whether it be a "man's duty to obey the laws and cuſtoms of "his country, the reaſons of which he may "or may not underſtand, from a regard to that "principle which we have obſerved to be at the "foundation of ſociety; or ſet up his opinion "againſt the public, and gratify himſelf at the "expence of its peace and ſecurity?"

The reverend Dr. P. may be ſurprized at my not having given him the title he aſſumes; but

but as I was informed he was no graduate, I thought it of very little ſignification.

With reſpect to Mr. P.'s concluſion, as it is only a plan of ſacrificing all that is dear to us, it requires no comment. The heart of every Briton muſt be the cenſurer of ſuch a thought.

The preſs teems with invectives levelled at the miniſter, who, confident of his own integrity, permits them to remain in that oblivion they never roſe from. Why ſhould an equitable adminiſtration ſupport every needy writer, who finding themſelves deſervedly neglected, deluge, from their airy regions, their inſignificant abuſe; give them but a *douceur*, the caſe is altered, and they are as laviſh of their praiſe, equally unimportant, as their cenſure.

It muſt ſurely be the triumph of every Engliſhman, that in whatever nation his deſire of improvement, his intereſt, or his pleaſure, may lead him, that he can aſſert, that the pilot of his native country is addicted to no one deſtructive vice: that no extravagant fondneſs for women; no ruinous attachment to gaming; no continual round

round of expenſive amuſements, to divert his attention from the important employ he is entruſted with; that his domeſtic virtues go hand in hand with his public ones; and that his affection for his King and country ſupport him in his arduous taſk, *malgré* the cenſure of thoſe, either envious of his perſonal merit, or the weighty office under his charge.—*Peace to all ſuch!*

The freedom of our conſtitution is the wonder and praiſe of every ſtranger. The reader will, I hope, permit me a few detached remarks on the original ſpring from which we derive our admirable ſyſtem of government, ſo extremely diſſimilar to all others.

England was never, I mean ſubſequent to the heptarchy, divided into more than one monarchy. The diviſion of Spain and France into ſo many petty principalities, where every little king reigned with deſpotiſm, and were all deſirous of aſſiſting each other in the ſubverſion of the leaſt ſpark of freedom. Italy, by the oppreſſion of papal power, by the inſatiate exactions of the clergy, by their enthuſiaſtic fanaticiſm,

adopted

adopted thoſe maxims by which alone prieſtly dominion can be eſtabliſhed and maintained. The conſtitution of England, free in its very nature, prior to the introduction of the feodal ſyſtem by the Conqueror; then, though the glorious flame was ſmothered by the ſubverſion of the Saxon legiſlature, fortunately he adapted a few of its laws, on the baſis of which ſprung the conſequent ſtruggles of the people.

People of all ſtations, when they perceived any infringement on the rights of the nation, were eager to form themſelves as a rampart againſt the royal encroachments; the barons, in their Ariſtocratic views; the people in the hope of enlarging their privileges: they were in want of mutual ſupport; but the people, conſcious that many tyrants were more deſtructive than one, ſeized the occaſion, and ſtipulated conditions for themſelves.

In Spain and France, conqueſt or alliance at laſt united their kingdoms into one monarchy. The people, always accuſtomed to a ſlaviſh ſubjection, carried the ſame ſentiments to their new lords, who as being ſo much more power-

ful, nipt in its bud any inclination to a ſpirit of freedom.

A variety of fortunate circumſtances paved the way to our happy conſtitution. The uſurpations of Henry the Firſt, A. D. 1100, was the original ſtep to actual freedom. A uſurped authority would, he was confident, even in that unenlightened age, be ſubject to much controverſy, if he did allure (by ſome popular actions) the attachment of the people: his firſt ſtep was, the granting of many privileges to the clergy, who, as they then poſſeſſed ſo extenſive a power, muſt have been bribed into good humour. The civil charter, on the foundation of which the *Magna Charta* was formed, owed its origin to the ſame cauſe. The trial by jury, that bulwark of liberty, was planned originally by the laws of Alfred; but the people in that rude age, acuſtomed to arms, ſeldom had recourse to it, and purſued the trial by duel, as more conſonant to their unpoliſhed manner of thinking: but in A. D. 1176, to the immortal memory of Henry the Second, it was revived, though he had not ſufficient influence entirely to aboliſh the other. It is a difficult taſk, either to change a long acCuſtomed

cuſtomed manner of action or thinking. In A. D. 1215, the great charter made its appearance; ſo that the uſurpation of Henry and the imbecility of John, were the happy means of laying the foundation ſtone to our conſtitution, ſuperior to any in being.

I think it a remarkable contraſt in the diſpoſition of England and its neighbouring rival, the French; the difference of the two charters that appeared at the ſame period of time—the one formed for the felicity of a whole united people, exalted, middling, and humble ſtations alike participated of its influence; the other, framed for the eminence of a few nobles, diſregardful of their fellow creatures, whoſe toilſome lives, independent of that inhumane ſlavery they were oppreſſed under, ſurely merited ſome portion of attention.

If we examine into a period, though long ſubſequent to the charter, I mean the reign of the Stuarts, we ſhall ſee the extreme caution the guardians of our rights acted with. As long as a native king was ſeated on the throne, he was naturally attached to his own nobles. Favours from

from a gracious king print deep impreſſions on a grateful mind; they were ready to ſupport him: but as ſoon as a ſtranger was in poſſeſſion of the reins, addicted to, and preferring his countrymen, it raiſed the ſuſpicions of thoſe, long accuſtomed to enjoy the favour of the ſovereign, tenacious of their own honour, and attentive to every *minutiæ* of a foreign prince.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

FINIS.